

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T TEL AVIV 7729

EXDIS-DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IS, US
SUBJECT: JUNE 19 CONVERSATION WITH DAYAN-FURTHER DETAILS

REF: TEL AVIV 7726

1. FOLLOWING IS FURTHER ELABORATION OF CERTAIN POINTS IN
MY CONVERSATION TODAY WITH DAYAN.

2. DURING DISCUSSION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF AUTONOMY PLAN,
DAYAN AS REPORTED IN REFTEL, DID NOT EXCLUDE EVENTUAL
EGYPTIAN IMPLEMENTING ROLE IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. HE
OBSERVED THAT THE AUTONOMY PLAN SAYS THAT PALESTINIANS
WILL HAVE A CHOICE OF WHETHER TO OBTAIN JORDANIAN OR IS-
RAELI CITIZENSHIP. SUPPOSING, HE SAID, THAT WAS CHANGED
TO ALSO INCLUDE THE CHOICE OF OBTAINING EGYPTIAN CITIZEN-
SHIP. CITING ANOTHER EXAMPLE, DAYAN SAID THAT THROUGH THE
AUTONOMY PLAN JORDANIAN CITIZENS COULD VOTE FOR REPRESENT-
ATIVES TO THE JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT. IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT
THROUGH MUTUAL AGREEMENT EGYPTIAN CITIZENS TOO COULD
CAST BALLOTS FOR REPRESENTATIVES TO THE ASSEMBLY IN
CAIRO. BUT, AT THE MOMENT, HE EMPHASIZED ISRAEL WAS "TIED
TO ITS OWN PROPOSAL." (THIS WAS BUT ONE OF SEVERAL IM-
PLICIT REFERENCES TO BEGIN'S RIGIDITY.) BUT ISRAEL WAS
AWARE THAT THERE WAS A MECHANISM IN ITS OWN AUTONOMY PLAN

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WHICH ALLOWED FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE AUTONOMY REGIME.
DAYAN STRESSED, "A PROPOSAL IS A PROPOSAL" AND "EVERY-
THING IS NEGOTIABLE." REVISIONS OF THE AUTONOMY PLAN,
HOWEVER, WAS NOT THE ISSUE BEGIN WAS NOW ADDRESSING. IN-
STEAD, IT WAS ANSWERS TO THE US QUESTIONS, AND THE GOI
ASSUMED THAT ISRAEL'S AUTONOMY PLAN WOULD BE THE BASIS FOR
THE PEACE ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD OCCUR AFTER FIVE YEARS.

THEREFORE, IT WAS NOT NOW TIME TO START NEGOTIATING ABOUT CHANGES IN THE AUTONOMY PLAN, BUT TO CONCENTRATE INSTEAD, AS THE US WISHED, ON WHAT WOULD HAPPEN AFTER FIVE YEARS. THERE WAS NOT ONE WORD, DAYAN CONCLUDED, IN THE US QUESTIONS WHICH REFERRED TO DESIRED CHANGES IN ISRAEL'S AUTONOMY PLAN.

3. I AGREE THAT WAS CORRECT BUT IN MY JUDGMENT THAT REFLECTED THE TENOR OF THE LATEST MEETING WITH DAYAN IN WASHINGTON. FROM WHAT HE AND BARAK HAD SAID THERE, IT HAD SEEMED TO US THAT IF DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE AGAIN STARTED WITH EGYPTIANS, AGREEMENT ON ELEMENTS FOR AN INTERIM REGIME MIGHT BE POSSIBLE. THE QUESTION WAS HOW TO GET DETAILED DISCUSSIONS GOING, AND THAT SEEMED TO REQUIRE SOME CLEARER STATEMENT OF SITUATION AFTER THE FIVE YEAR PERIOD. HOWEVER, THAT DID NOT ASSUME THAT ISRAEL'S PRECISE AUTONOMY PLAN WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO EGYPT WITHOUT MODIFICATION. WE SIMPLY FOCUSED ON THE POST-FIVE YEAR SITUATION BECAUSE ISRAEL HAD TOLD US THAT IF NEGOTIATIONS COULD GET STARTED AGAIN, ISRAEL-EGYPT AGREEMENT ON AN INTERIM REGIME MIGHT BE REACHED.

4. WITH RESPECT TO LONG TERM FUTURE OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, DAYAN SAID IN ADDITION TO ISSUE OF SOVEREIGNTY NOT BEING RAISED, THAT THE SITUATION IN THE AREAS WOULD STAY "AS DESCRIBED AND DEFINED IN THE AGREED UPON AUTONOMY PLAN,"
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UNTIL AFTER AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED AMONG THE PARTIES. THOSE ARRANGEMENTS NEED NOT BE ALTERED IF EVERYONE WAS HAPPY. BUT CHANGES MIGHT BE NECESSARY. FOR INSTANCE, THE TAX SYSTEM AS ENVISAGED BY THE ISRAELIS MIGHT NOT PROVIDE ADEQUATE REVENUE FOR THE PALESTINIAN ARABS WHO MIGHT WISH ANOTHER TAXATION REGIME. IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT PALESTINIAN ARABS MIGHT WISH TO MAKE AN ARRANGEMENT CONCERNING TAXES WITH THE JORDANIANS. THIS WAS SIMPLY AN EXAMPLE OF THE SORT OF ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WOULD BE POSSIBLE, PROVIDED ALL THE PARTIES AGREE. AS REPORTED REFTEL, DAYAN MENTIONED EDUCATION AND AGRICULTURE AS OTHER MATTERS WHICH MIGHT PRODUCE STRONGER OR WEAKER LINKS AMONG THE PARTIES, DEPENDING ON THE ISSUE.

5. BUT THIS ALL ASSUMED THAT NO ONE RAISED THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY. DAYAN ARGUED THAT ISRAEL WAS MORE OR LESS FOLLOWING WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER, KING HUSSEIN AND SOME EGYPTIANS HAD BEEN SAYING - THAT IS, THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO PALESTINIAN STATE. INSTEAD, THERE WERE THREE PRACTICAL CHOICES: (1) AUTONOMY ALONG LINES OF THE ISRAELI PLAN; THE TERRITORIES LINKED TO JORDAN; OR THE TERRITORIES LINKED TO ISRAEL. THIS WAS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH ISRAEL'S INTERPRE-

TATION OF THE FUTURE NATURE OF RELATIONS AMONG THE PARTIES.
ONE SORT OF LINKAGE MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE FOR ONE AREA OF
ACTIVITY, AND ANOTHER SORT OF LINKAGE FOR ANOTHER. ISRAEL
WOULD BE OPEN TO WHICH SORT OF LINKS WOULD
BE DEVELOPED BETWEEN WHICH PARTIES, AGAIN AS LONG AS ISSUE
OF SOVEREIGNTY WAS NOT RAISED.

6. DAYAN WENT ON THAT ISRAEL CANNOT SAY MORE BECAUSE (1)
ARTICLE 26 PROVIDES FOR POSSIBLE CHANGES IN PRINCIPLES OF
AUTONOMY SCHEME; (2) THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY REMAINS
OPEN; (3) THERE ARE VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES WITH RESPECT
TO THE SORTS OF RELATIONSHIPS WHICH COULD BE DEVELOPED AMONG
THE PARTIES. SO NOW IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SPEAK OF REAL PER-
MANENCY CONCERNING THE STATUS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.
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THERE ARE TOO MANY UNCERTAINTIES.

7. DAYAN REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT THE US HAS NEVER
REJECTED THE GOI'S POSITION THAT ITS AUTONOMY PLAN IS NOT
INCONSISTENT WITH RESOLUTION 242. HE ALSO ADMITTED, HOW-
EVER, THAT WE HAD NOT SAID WE ACCEPTED THIS VIEW.

8. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO REPEAT TO AMMAN AND JERUSALEM.
LEWIS

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